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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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876 157 commands and impose punishments. "If an order is given it must be carried out absolutely."[26] In order to achieve such absolute, unconditional and unquestioning obedience, the training of the young must be not only strict and firm but also consistent, so that their "habit of obedience" once formed is not easily broken.[27] Training in blind obedience is justified by the need to avoid conflicts and discord which a Soviet society cannot tolerate.[28] In such a society all available human energy must be employed exclusively in building socialism.

In order to develop the habit of unconditional obedience it is necessary to prevent any reflection upon given orders. Therefore the school training must stamp out "indecision" in the Soviet children. "We must create in Soviet children a state of mind which causes them to consider indecision in necessary actions as unworthy of their honor."[29] Obedience and submission demand traits of self-abnegation and self-denial; " . . . to bear pain patiently, to maintain self-control on hearing unpleasant news, and to endure unavoidable privations without complaint . . . all of this means to children a manifestation of courage."[30]

It is recognized that children have to be trained also in leadership, and that initiative is necessary in that respect. The Party, however, cannot allow any such initiative which might go counter to the Party's will. It is emphasized therefore that the initiative, too, must be "disciplined," because it is needed only for purposes of organization, vigilance and struggle along the lines put forward by those who possess the Truth. Hence according to Soviet principles of education it is "important that initiative not be exhibited impulsively, but that it be directed into organized channels . . . out of children of initiative good organizers must come."[31]

876 156 This complete submerging of the individual into his group, rooted in the social and political traditions of Russian society, is being reinforced by Soviet school training which strives to "educate people for whom the pronoun *I* could not . . . become more important than *we*, for whom thought for themselves always yields to thought for their comrades, for the group and for the country."[32] In this manner "clash between social demands and personal inclinations" is surmounted and the group

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avantgarde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet